609, 123

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Flores OF9
Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For data on the reception of the foreign traveler, investigator or author by the local people, see also category 574./

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764 178 It is done in one day now, because the body begins to smell otherwise.

144 361 [197] The physical types in the mountains, the Lio folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impression that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

[181]

609 197 771 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I 778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

291 286 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof, are easier to keep clean and are better in general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the kampong, and even fewer move out of or into the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
● 609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.rt. 116 --Analyst]

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they are too old. This is a big reason why there is less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah family. This is clearly the area of least acculturation, although in agriculture and technology they are just as advanced if not more so than in the other areas. For example, witness the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here, and the mother's brother's daughter marriage still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions. Some of these are large and some are small. Some are for the family, and some are celebrated by larger units. Some are celebrated by the entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medicine man, mbako decided when one is needed. Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc., and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
●609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his trade from his father, but there are cases where such succession is not followed. There is one in Weol. However, they will never tell an outsider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all know who he is. However, even during a rite, he keeps in the background so that he can be kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the fear of the mission or the government or what? I couldn't get much about the latter, but I will try later. This is amazing!

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534 drums and gongs were brought here from These several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

[243] They tell such stories when the rice is ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
● 609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

614 We discussed a certain rank which appears in
343 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
562 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
243 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

•609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

War

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

●609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the phonetics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. [194] The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 621 595 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social organization. There seems to be a vague ranking according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 798 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 609 578 681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 578 609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the
Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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582 584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very [484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

● [609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

493 No one has a car. No one has ever owned a car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

423 The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
614 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
622 tanah. Each family has its own house and garden land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

●[609] There is also undivided kampong land, and this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

609 The general attitude toward the Dutch has always been one of fear. This is not a specific fear and is not equivalent to the resentment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided. Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

771 Religion does not mix in with politics here. There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 518 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 793 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far [438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone [167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a
lesser degree, and the people never leave Mang-
garai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving
are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco,
etc. If they are away for long or at some dis-
tance, there is a feast when they return. The
four who have left the area have not yet re-
turned. When they do there will be a great
gathering to hear their experiences. The as-
sistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly
there were no relations really with even near-
by places like Tjumbi, except for marriages,
and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or
had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays
there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are
the environs of the kampong. This comprises
the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
● [609] There is little in the way of transportation
here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from
Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth
easy. However, the horses make Manggarai peo-
ple greater travelers than, for example, the
inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big
thing here, and now I see why I got the impres-
sion at once that there is more internal move-
ment here than in most of the Flores areas. It
is the horses. The people are fine riders, and
the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and
the horse on which they rode was led. Now they
jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many
women riding horses).

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[493] [492] The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel 481 178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 In general there is no fear of the outside. 789 In the old days they feared robbery and murder, 609 as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, 784 e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. [614] Veol is the center of the gelarang, and [632] Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

● 609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one [576] hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here.

The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the as- [595] sistant. In getting information for the records 124 the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he